The Jesuit global networks of exchange of Asian goods: A "conflicting" musk load around the middle of the seventeenth century

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Abstract

In 1648, a Portuguese ship that left Macau sank off the coast of the Philippines. The local authorities in Manila confiscated and sold all of its goods. This led to a dispute with the Jesuits, who claimed a certain amount of musk belonging to the Vice Province of China, the sale of which would support their religious mission. This article offers an analysis of this event, focusing on the dispute between the mentioned parties, but also as an example of the complex global networks of goods exchanges and economic interests in these regions of Southeast Asia in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Keywords

Macau; Philippines; Spanish Empire; Portuguese Empire; Society of Jesus; musk; China

Introduction

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Global History is currently experiencing both a great boom and a period of self-reflection.[1] However, there is still a historiographical debate about its definition, field of study, and methodology.[2] The focus of this article does not permit a detailed examination of the various proposals framed within this Global History discussion.[3] However, a brief overview of some of the key ideas is necessary to situate the analysis of this 1648 event which follows.

Some researchers have developed analyses connecting various parts of the world to comprehend the early modern globalization in more depth.[4] Other scholars have made comparisons on a large scale.[5] At the same time, historiographic development exposed the limitations of these approaches. Some perspectives point to the Anglo-Saxon origin of Global History and therefore often neglected, or placed on the periphery, the cases of Latin America and Africa in their analysis.[6] Attending to these critiques will allow us to avoid making similar mistakes.

From a methodological point of view, several studies chose to reduce the focus of analysis in order to understand this global world based on local phenomena from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.[7] This article will move forward in this direction, adopting a micro view to understand the macro.[8] I consider it necessary to reduce the object of analysis to a specific point, and from there to understand more complex and connected global processes. In this way I hope to overcome this frequent opposition between Microhistory and Global History,[9] understanding them as "two brothers in constant conflict, but inseparable."[10]

Therefore, I will make a "play with scales" that links the circulation and exchange of specific Asian goods (musk in this case), with the role played by certain non-state agents (Jesuits) who participated in this process.[11] I want to explore the idea that the Jesuits played a key role in the exchange circuits of Asian goods and that their

intervention was vital for these products' circulation and consumption, both in Latin America and Europe.

Many studies have analyzed the circulation and consumption of goods, and have incorporated methodologies from Global History when examining the early modern era.[12] Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla and Bethany Aram, for example, have examined the impact that various types of goods of Latin American origin had on European societies in this period.[13] Along these lines, substantial research devoted to specific goods, analyzing their circulation and overall consumption, such as sugar, silk, porcelain, wine, among many others has been published.[14]

Furthermore, several studies have also analyzed the trade and good exchange circuits of specific interest for this article, especially between Macau and Manila. Some of them have focused on the role of the Jesuits in those regions. Dauril Alden's study about Jesuit economic activities in the Portuguese Empire is significant, especially because of its emphasis on Macau.[15] In the same way, Charles Boxer studied in depth the so-called "Black ships" that linked Macau and Nagasaki in the early seventeenth century. Other studies have focused on the role played by the Jesuit procurator fathers in these exchanges, as well as the disembarkation of goods and their packaging,[16] which allows for a better understanding of these exchanges and for finding similar strategies on the Macau-Manila route. Benjamin Videira Pires's study and others specifically on Jesuit activities in the Philippines, such as Eduardo Descalzo Yuste's research, are fundamental to understanding the Jesuit role on the Macau-Manila route. They are also important because they provide a context for the following case study, indicating the mechanisms carried out by the Jesuits to exchange and disseminate Asian goods, while also connecting spaces in Southeast Asia and Latin America during the early modern era.

The Macau-Manila route, goods exchanges around the middle of the seventeenth century

The Iberian Empires established various routes for the exchange of people, goods, and ideas across the globe in the early modern period, which has been analyzed from a number of perspectives in an array of studies.[17] However, this study focuses on the economic activities that were developed by "non-state actors" such as the members of the Society of Jesus.[18] Specifically, I will focus on the activities of the Jesuits on a particular shipping route which linked the ports of Macau (China) with those of the Philippines, mainly Manila and Cavite. This route was developed between 1565 and 1815.[19] The sources refer to the fact that two ships were used on the outbound Macau-Manila route, and two or three ships for the return voyage. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the so-called *Naos de China* managed to transport more than 1,000 tons, only one ship was required.[20] I examine the case of the Portuguese ship called *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* (called *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* in the Spanish sources), which was on this route in 1648 when it became the protagonist in a serious conflict.

During this period, the region was experiencing the results of historical transformations that altered trade exchanges in Southeast Asia. The first was the definitive closure of Japanese ports to Portuguese traders from 1639 and the subsequent persecution of Christians (1640–1641). This situation forced the Jesuits of Macau to locate new exchange sites from which to economically support their mission in China, the establishment of a "new Japan" in the region.[21] In this context, Father Adriano de las Cortes sought to carry out "a certain business of consideration" by undertaking his

journey from Manila to Macau on 25 January 1625, in an attempt to consolidate this exchange route.[22]

The second event was the arrival of the Dutch to Macau in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The Dutch altered (and attacked) many of the Portuguese commercial circuits and ports, with the Goa-Macau route being particularly affected. At the same time, the Dutch were the only Europeans who managed to maintain the Japanese trade link from their post on the island of Dejima. Simultaneously, the Portuguese began to focus their trade mainly on the Atlantic, particularly in Brazil, with the Cape route between Macau-Brazil and Lisbon becoming progressively stronger.[23]

The third catalyst for change stemmed from the confrontation between Spain and Portugal. After Portugal's independence in 1640, a global conflict, that lasted more than two decades, affected the various possessions of these empires unequally. The Thirty Years' War impacted South-East Asia and all its trade connections. During this period, the Dutch and the English made several incursions into the possessions of the Iberian empires. The former managed to invade Pernambuco and consolidate their power in Brazil, founding New Amsterdam on what is now the island of Manhattan. At the same time, they became the strongest European empire in Asia from 1617 onwards, managing to establish numerous forts in the region. Two years later, the Dutch finally controlled Batavia, from where they consolidated their commercial power. In 1641 they took Formosa, snatched Malacca from the Portuguese, and established a trade monopoly with Japan on the aforementioned island of Dejima. In the following decade, the Dutch expelled the Portuguese from Ceylon and Cochin. The British, for their part, succeeded in replacing the Portuguese in Surat in 1612, and obtained trading privileges from the Grand Mongol in 1618.[24]

In light of the complexity of this situation, it is necessary to briefly characterize the main commercial ports of this route: Macau and Manila. *Nome de Deus de Macao* was founded by the Portuguese on 14 August 1556, at the mouth of the Pearl River, very close to the city of Canton or Guangzhou. Macau began as a stopover on the Portuguese merchants' journey to Canton.[25] Father Adriano de las Cortes mentioned that the Macanese port was a city inhabited "by *fidalgos* and Portuguese merchants" and that it was 180 leagues from Manila.[26] Other testimonies detail the main characteristics of this port and its dependence on the sea. In 1652 he asserted that "here [Macau] there are no goods from scratch, nor any other way of life, but that to embark on trade."[27] A century later, this dependence on the sea persisted. One account in 1775 states, "as this land lives on nothing else (but the sea), the more ships there are, the better the people can live, who cannot occupy themselves in this city in any other place."[28]

On the one hand, sources agree that Macau was small in area and did not have the possibility of developing sufficient agriculture or industry, and therefore the wealth of this city was based on its role as an intermediary between the various trade circuits nearby. Thus, Macau's ships and inhabitants developed key trade routes to Manila, Nagasaki, Timor, Batavia, Malacca, Madrasa, Calcutta, Goa, and Surrate throughout the early modern period.[29]

On the other hand, the city of Manila, founded on 24 June 1571 by Miguel López de Legazpi, from the beginning, this port sought to act as a commercial link between Asian and Latin American territories for the Spanish monarchy. Abundant scholarship has focused, therefore, on the so-called "Manila Galleon" and the commercial links that were established.[30] However, fewer studies have focused on the Manila-Macau route.[31] Father Pedro Murillo Velarde highlights the international character of that city, noting that just spending an hour in that port one would see people

from all nations of Europe, Asia, America, and Africa.[32] This testimony provides an idea of the global connections that were developing in this port.

We must bear in mind that these exchanges of products on a global scale, i.e. from Asia to the European ports of Seville or Lisbon, were only profitable with products that did not occupy much space on a ship but which could be sold at very high prices.[33] Thus, this traffic included spices such as cinnamon and pepper and aromatic substances like grey amber and musk, the latter being the focus of this essay.

Musk made the Fathers of the Society of Jesus key agents since it was easier for them to participate in a trade with goods that were small in volume, easy to transport, and for which they received important privileges. Further, geographical distance and delays in communication contributed to the development of new instruments of government and more autonomy in the Jesuits' hands in these Asian regions. Studies by Markus Friedrich and Fabian Fechner recently show the influence of the structure of Jesuit government in different overseas missions, and the important role of communication in this religious expansion.[34] In balance, all these studies show how the order's central authorities left a certain degree of freedom to its members in matters of economy and trade to solve the day-to-day economic problems of their missions. The musk trade provides a very good example.

With regard to privileges, numerous documents highlight the needs Jesuits faced in this context, for which they requested exemption from the payment of certain taxes.[35] Thus, for example, the Jesuit procurator Baltasar de Lagunilla asked the crown to enable him to send eight crates of medicines and gifts from the port of Acapulco to the Philippine Islands without having to pay duties. The authorities granted him exemption for four crates. Interestingly, the clarification made in their report by the members of the *Casa de la Contratación* on this matter added the condition that this father procurator

"swears that they are for the said religious [order] bought with his money and that he does not touch or have any part in them in particular."[36]

The Jesuit fathers clearly played a key role in trade exchanges in South East Asia. Analyzing the sinking of the Macanese ship off the Philippine coast around 1648 and how the Jesuits were involved in their later disputes highlights the economic role they played.

A shipwreck and a conflict: Jesuits and a cargo of musk

Sometimes an "exceptional" circumstance can mark the "normality" of a period. allowing us to identify certain common practices in the trade of goods at the Iberian frontiers.[37] In 1648 a Portuguese ship from Macau, *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, was shipwrecked off the coast of Manila.[38] The ship's captain, Diego de Mendoza Furtado, and its Portuguese crew members were arrested and their property seized by the royal officers of the Philippines. The confiscation was carried out by the *oidor* fiscal Cavallero de Medina, on the basis of an order from Governor Diego Fajardo. For the next fifteen days, this Portuguese ship was guarded by Juan Muñoz and twelve soldiers.[39] Then the notary public Juan de Campos y Rojas carried out the inventories and the corresponding storage of the confiscated goods over a period of twenty-seven and a half days.[40]

The ship was carrying goods for a total value of 54,473 pesos, 4 tomines, and 3 grains, which were placed in the royal box on 29 July 1648.[41] Father Andrés de Ledesma, Procurator General of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines, stated that he had given Antonio Rodrigues de Lagos, master and scribe of the ship, "in one of his boxes, twenty-seven *cates* of musk belonging to the Province of China."[42] We know that this "finissimo" musk was sent by Manuel Figueredo, a Jesuit father who was the

procurator of the mission in China, "so that he could use the profit expected from its sale to support the fathers who worked in China."[43] These words come from a letter written by Ferdinand III of Habsburg, in Vienna and dated 17 November 1654, consulting his cousin Philip IV, King of Spain, about this musk confiscation, six years after the incident. Ferdinand III also mentioned that "just as in Macau there are no goods from the countryside that the Supreme Pontiff has granted under certain limits, so too the religious may exert some kind of merchandise for their sustenance."[44]

The following year, King Philip IV ordered by royal decree that this amount be returned to the Portuguese. However, the then governor Sabiniano Manrique de Lara only gave the Portuguese a total of 4,600 pesos, arguing "the needs of the R[e]l Caxa." The governor mentioned that among the goods seized were "28 musk buyones [sic], which is much more than the amount that the father procurator of the province of China claims to belong to him." He affirmed that "despite the fact that neither the *imbentarios* [sic] nor the *almonedas* were seized, he neither reasoned nor declared that any part of this musk belonged to the procurator or his province."[45] On 23 July 1662, after being consulted by the Council of the Indies, the public prosecutor decided that the excess should be applied to the Royal Treasury, since Father Martín Martínez "can only claim that what is contained in his report should be handed over to him."[46] Finally, on 9 September 1662, the *Consejo de Indias* decided that Father Martinez should be given back "the amount of musk or the value of its proceeds."[47]

A long process began in which the Jesuits demanded from the crown and the Philippine authorities the return of the value of those twenty-seven pounds of musk, equivalent to 2,430 pesos in eight reals, which belonged to the vice-province of China. A royal charter was finally issued on 18 June 1662 to return this amount to the Jesuit procurator in China, Martin Martinez.[48] However, this payment was not made, and the

Jesuits filed a claim again in 1672, even requesting that the payment come out of Mexico's royal coffer, given the Philippine authorities' limited income.[49]

We do not know precisely if this payment was eventually made. This case, however, serves to point out the importance of the commercial networks developed by the Jesuits in these regions, and at the same time highlights the conflicts that could arise with the local and imperial authorities. It also sheds a light on a product that was very valuable to the Jesuits, namely musk.

The trade in musk became very important in Manila. For example, the historian Antonio García Abásolo highlights the figure of Captain Pedro de Alas Marrón, whom he describes as "the greatest merchant of musk and ambergris." In his will, this captain gave 16 musk pots and 46 ounces of ambergris for sale in Seville.[50] Other references to this product can be found in various sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Friar Martin Ignatius of Loyola, in his journey through China, mentioned "there are many musk animals, which are the size and appearance of a small dog, which they kill and bury for a few days and after all the flesh and blood has rotted, it becomes those smelly powders."[51] Sebastian de Covarrubias, around 1611, highlighted the particularities of musk, with its "very fragrant smell" and "a very mild, uplifting smell."[52]

Years later, the Jesuit Adriano de las Cortes wrote that during his journey he crossed paths with Chinese hunters who used dogs to harass the "musk animal." This Jesuit then provided details about the animal and drew an image of how the musk was obtained; "in the navel it has a pocket and through it purge a blood or humour that is curdled by the musk."[53] The inventory of goods belonging to Governor Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, carried out between 12 and 16 July 1624, includes 126 musk swords. Later, in

the celebrated *almoneda*, the 4 pounds and 4 and a half ounces of musk sold for 76 pesos.[54]

Overall, the presence of musk was frequent in commercial exchanges between the territories of Southeast Asia, particularly in Manila. This commodity was equally important in Macau. Around 1600, Macanese ships took two musk *picos* to Japan, which they bought for 8 *reais* for the *cate* in Canton, and it was sold in Japanese lands for 14, 15, or 16 *reais*, depending on the demand.[55] In July 1618 a similar quantity of musk (2 *cates*) was shipped by the Jesuits to Japan.[56] At the same time, 6 or 7 *picos* of this product were taken by Macaense ships to India, where it was used by the natives.[57] Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the Senate of Macau included musk among the products that had to pay duties (3 percent), indicating the importance that its trade had acquired in that port.[58]

Based on these descriptions, we have a general idea of this particular product and how it was obtained and traded in the region. We know that one of musk's most frequent uses was as a perfume.[59] However, a reference from the middle of the eighteenth century states that "it was widely used in Chocolate" because it managed to "exalt the virtue of any drink."[60]

Jesuits and trade

Members of the Society of Jesus were directly or indirectly involved in commercial trafficking from Macau and the Philippines. The Jesuits had their own vessels in the Macau port with which they carried out trade missions to various points. Thus, in the 1630s, the Macau school owned two junks and participated in the activities of other vessels in the city.[61] Significantly, the Jesuits of Macau not only participated in the Macau-Philippines route; there are references to numerous activities on other exchange

routes with territories near the Macau port. Without a doubt as noted earlier, the great route of exchange is that which united that port with Japan and which they dominated until the first decades of the seventeenth century.

In 1661, the Jesuits of the Macau School acted as partners of the Portuguese merchant Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo in trade using the *Nossa Senhora da Conceiçao e Sao Domingos Suriano*. We know that this ship officially carried "sappan and sandalwood" but that it unofficially transported gold and sugar to Goa. These products were confiscated by the Dutch when this ship was captured in October 1661 in Batavia. Finally, these goods were recovered, and the journey could be completed in March 1662.[62] This is a very good reference of the Jesuit Fathers directly involved in the transport and trade -and also smuggling- of Asian goods in this área.

In the early years of the eighteenth century, a new "exceptional" case points to these links of the Macau Jesuits to trade. Sources state that Father Manuel Queirós Pereira was one of the owners of the ship *Jesús, María e José*. This ship, captained by Francisco Leite Pereira, was captured during its return journey from Batavia in February 1712[63] by the French corsair Henry Bouynot, who later sold it in the port of Manila to Aleixo Pessoa.[64] The following year, the Treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to the War of the Spanish Succession, was signed. In May 1714, this led to the Portuguese Vice-Royalty of India ordering the return of the ships from Macau that traded with Manila. This prompted Leite Pereira to travel to Goa in May 1716 to personally discuss the return of *Jesús, María e José*, which eventually transpired in 1719.[65] Two years later, the Senate of Macau wrote to Jesuit Father Antonio Soares, who was in the Kingdom of Siam, asking him to "guide and direct in everything" the captain sent from the city for the "conservation of the treatment and trade" between Macau and that Kingdom.[66]

In the early decades of the eighteenth century, the governor of the Philippines, Fernando Manuel Bustillo y Bustamente, sent grey amber and musk to New Spain with the Jesuit fathers. The sale of these products could cover the 4,400 pesos he owed Manuel López Pintado for his passage to the islands: "I have resolved that a small box is being taken into the care of father Marcelo de Valdivieso."[67] Once again the Jesuits were directly involved in the transport and trade of Asian goods on the Manila Galleon route.

Furthermore, Peter Borschberg cites as an example the cargo of two Portuguese carracks among which we find "several hundred ounces" and "eighteen boxes of musk-balls."[68] However, beyond the weight estimate of the cargo, Borschberg' calculation of the profit margin for musk is noteworthy. Initially he states that the simple calculation may lead us to think that the profit exceeded 1,500 percent, noting that "that calculation is of course very hypothetical and ignores other important factors such as loss and damage incurred during the voyage."[69] Borschberg then analyzes the sources by the United Dutch East India Company (VOC), which reflects the "[g]enuine profits of say 300–500 percent on the original investment were achieved in exceptional circumstances and only from the purchase and sale of prime quality musk."[70] This comparison allows us to understand the significance of musk in the commercial exchanges in those regions for different empires. Therefore, and given the need to sustain their mission in Eastern lands, the Jesuits themselves included musk as one of the products they could trade. Considering the Macau *Congregatione* of 1620 said the goods for trade were limited to raw silk, gold, musk, and ambergris,[71] it is not surprising that musk occupied a significant place in the cargo carried by the Jesuits to Japan.

Conclusions

As I have argued, Global History offers theoretical and methodological challenges to the understanding the world of early modern times –understanding local phenomena and/or precise junctures may allow us to find answers for questions about occurrences and situations in a global context

Thus, I have drawn attention to a very specific fact, a case of the musk confiscation in Philippines around 1648, but one that, seen from a broader perspective, allows us to shape those global responses: the role that the Jesuits played as commercial agents in both Macau and the Philippines. They acted as direct transporters of Asian goods to other destinations, but they also collaborated in the logistics of this trade (ships). We also observe the particularities in the trade of a product such as the musk can allow us to better understand the changes in consumption and trade in those regions. In particular, the confiscation of musk in which the Jesuits were involved in the Philippines around 1648, and which opened a dispute that lasted several decades, indicates that it was not something "exceptional" but rather a habitual practice in which the members of the Society of Jesus were frequently involved with in Asia throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Notes

[1] Courses, seminars and conferences, monographs and books, plus a whole series of articles and dossiers in scientific journals in recent years show us this trend. Among the journals we highlight the *Journal of World History* (published since 1990 by the University of Hawai'i Press), the *Journal of Global History* (published since 2006 by the London School of Economics and Political Science and Cambridge University

Press), and the *Journal of Global Slavery* (published since 2016 by Leiden University and Brill).

[2] See Conrad, *What is Global History?*; Hausberger and Pani, "Historia global. Presentación."

[3] A first attempt to summarize the numerous works within this historiographic trend can be seen in Di Fiore and Meriggi, *World History*.

[4] See Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties*; and Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories."

[5] Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*.

[6] Brown, "The Global History of Latin America"; Hausberger, *Historia mínima*; and Campbell, "Africa, the Indian Ocean World." I believe that the case of Africa still needs to be the subject of further theoretical reflection.

[7] No doubt the studies of Italian microhistory by Giovanni Levi and Carlo Ginzburg initiated this perspective. Today they are taken up by some authors under the notion of Global Microhistory. See Andrade, "A Chinese Farmer…"; Trivellato, "Is There a Future"; Ghobrial, "The Secret Life of Elias…" and "Introduction"; Betrand and Calafat "La microhistoure globale." In recent works, Levi in particular reflects on global history and microhistory. See Levi, "Microhistoria e Historia Global"; and "Frail Frontiers?"

[8] See De Vries "Playing with Scales"; Torre, "Micro/macro: ¿local/global?"

[9] See, for example, the articles in Vol. 242, Issue Supplement (November 2019) referring to the "Global History and Microhistory" in which historians such as John Paul A. Ghobrial, Jan de Vries, Giovanni Levi, Maxine Berg, Romain Bertrand, Giorgio Riello and others, discuss these theoretical-methodological proposals.

[10] My translation from original Spanish. Levi, "Microhistoria e Historia Global," 22.

[11] I refer here to the methodological proposal of Revel, *Jeux d'echelles*.

[12] See the different chapters in Perez-Garcia and de Sousa, *Global History*.

[13] Yun-Casalilla and Aram, *Global Goods*. An essay that brings together works that analyze the reverse perspective, that is, the influence of European products on the American societies of the period is currently forthcoming in 2022: Yun-Casalilla, Berti and Svriz-Wucherer, *American Globalization, 1492–1850: Trans-cultural Consumption in Spanish Latin America.*

[14] Gasch-Tomas, *The Atlantic World and the Manila Galleons*; Miyata, "Comercio entre Asia y América"; Perez-Garcia, "Global Goods, Silver and Market Integration."

[15] Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*.

[16] Oka, "A Memorandum by Tçuzu Rodrigues," and Loureiro, "Navios, mercadorias e embalagens."

[17] In this article, the concept "Iberian Empires" refers to the Portuguese and Spanish Empires. See Yun-Casalilla, *Iberian World Empires*; Perez-Garcia and de Sousa, *Global History and New Polycentric*; Díaz de Seabra and Manso, "Macau e as Filipinas"; Cardim et al., *Portugal na Monarquia Hispânica*; Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories"; Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade*; and many others.

[18] These Jesuit activities are analyzed in Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*; Beites Manso, "Missionários ou ricos mercadores?"; Blumers, *La contabilidad en las reducciones guaraníes*; Mörner "Un procurador jesuita del Paraguay," among others.

[19] At the same time, this route coincides with another that has received greater attention in historiography, namely the so-called "Manila Galleon" that linked the Philippines with Latin America until the second decade of the nineteenth century. See Chaunu, *Les Philippines*; Alfonso Mola and Martínez Shaw, *El Galeón de Manila*; Bonialian, *El Pacifico Hispanoamericano*; Giraldez, *The Age of Trade*; Bernabeu Albert and Martínez Shaw, *Un océano de seda y plata*; Gasch-Tomas, *The Atlantic World and the Manila*

Galleons, and others. It is important to note that the combination of both routes allowed the Jesuits to connect Macau, the Philippines, and New Spain.

[20] Videira Pires, *A viagem do comércio Macau-Manila*, 15. An indirect route must be added to this trade, uniting these territories through other regions such as Nagasaki, Malacca and Portuguese India, especially during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Ibid., 15. There was also indirect trade via Macassar after the end of the Portuguese war of independence around 1668. Cf. Souza, *The Survival of Empire*, 87–123.

[21] Sena, "In Search of Another Japan."

[22] De las Cortes, *Viaje de la China*, 97. In the introduction to this edition, Beatriz Moncó notes that the father De las Cortes does not specify what he refers to as a "business of consideration." Some authors interpret this phrase from a commercial point of view, others from a religious perspective, and still others hold an "intermediate" view that this Jesuit made that journey between Manila and Macau with evangelizing and commercial objectives. I consider this to be the most appropriate interpretation, given the context in which this mission is carried out. See De las Cortes, *Viaje de la China,* 20–21.

[23] Bruxo et al., *Portugueses no Oriente*, 268.

[24] Yun-Casalilla, *Iberian World Empires*, 354–355.

[25] Bruxo et al., *Portugueses no Oriente*, 174.

[26] De las Cortes, *Viaje de la China*, 97. See the definition of *Fidalgo* in Yun-Casalilla, *Las redes del Imperio*; and Perez-Garcia, *Blood, Land and Power.*

[27] Quoted by Videira Pires, *A viagem do comércio Macau-Manila*, 5.

[28] Quoted by Videira Pires, *A vida marítima de Macau*, 11.

[29] Bruxo et al., *Portugueses no Oriente*, 267. Etsuko Miyata notes that Asian porcelain was found in excavations in the Zócalo of Mexico City dating from the period 1550–1575, showing that these were most probably exported from Macau and/or brought by the Portuguese to the New Spanish territory. Miyata, "Comercio entre Asia y América," 117–118. This opens up the need to analyze new and even more complex trade routes between Asia and Latin America, long before the Manila Galleon.

[30] See references in note 19. At the same time, the smuggling activities that were taking place in parallel to this route should be noted. See Suárez "Sedas, rasos y damascos"; Bonialian, "Acapulco."

[31] Videira Pires, *A vida marítima de Macau*, and *A viagem do comércio Macau-Manila*.

[32] Murillo Velarde, Pedro. *Geographia Historica de las islas Philipinas, del Africa, y de sus islas adyacentes. Tomo VIII.* Madrid: Oficina de D. Gabriel Ramírez, 1752, 52.

[33] García Abásolo, "La vida cotidiana de los vecinos de Manila," 79.

[34] Fechner and Wilde, "Cartas vivas."

[35] "Oficio de Juan Bautista Sáenz Navarrete a Francisco Zapata sobre que se ha concedido a los jesuitas el embarcar cuatro cajones de medicinas y regalos de Acapulco a Manila, sin pagar derechos." Madrid, 15 June 1646. Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Filipinas, 81, N.8. Shortly afterwards, a Real Cédula was issued granting the request. AGI, Filipinas, 347. L.3, f.145-f.146v.

[36] "Informe de la Casa de la Contratación sobre la pretensión del memorial anterior," Seville, 16 May 1646. AGI, Filipinas, 81, N.8.

[37] In this paragraph we refer to the concept of "normal exceptional" proposed by Edoardo Grendi and used by the exponents of Italian microhistory such as Ginzburg and in their analyses. Ginzburg, Microhistoria, 41.

[38] Luke Clossey mentions that ten years earlier, in 1638, a ship called *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, "the largest ship ever built in the Philippines, was wrecked on Saipan...," but in that case all the cargo was lost. Clossey, "Merchants, migrants, missionaries," 45.

[39] "Caja de Filipinas, 1648–1649." AGI, Contaduría 1227, f.182- f. 182 s/n v.

[40] "Caja de Filipinas, 1648–1649." AGI, Contaduría 1227, f.183 s/n- s/n v. The term *almoneda* was defined at the time as: "The sale of things that are publicly made with the intervention of justice through the voice of the town crier, who publishes the thing that is sold, and the price that they give for it, so that the buyers may bid against one another, and the price is increased, and it is remitted." Furthermore, "...this voice can be composed of the name *Monéda*, and of the article *Al*, because what is sold there becomes money and monéda." Finally, this is used in "the market of the things that are won in war, is appreciated for money, each one as much as it is worth." See "Almoneda," *Diccionario de Autoridades*. Volume I (1726).

[41] "Expediente sobre confiscación de almizcle a Martín Martínez." AGI, Filipinas, 22, R.10, N.55. It should be noted that, according to the Philippine crate, the official judges of the Royal Treasury are charged with 54,454 pesos, 5 tomines, and 11 grains of gold that different persons placed in the royal crate from 21 April to 15 October 1648, resulting from the value of the goods that were auctioned off in the royal treasury of the goods seized from the said Portuguese "as recorded in 285 interpolated entries of the common book, and general of the royal caxa of the said year." "Caja de Filipinas, 1648–1649." AGI, Contaduría, 1227, f.95.

[42] "Expediente sobre confiscación de almizcle a Martín Martínez." AGI, Filipinas, 22, R.10, N.55. Cate is a weight measure used in the early modern Philippines; it was equal

to one thenth of 1 *chinanta*, to 1 pound and 6 ounces, and to 632.63 grammes. See Gasch-Tomas, *The Atlantic World and the Manila Galleons*, 230.

[43] "Consulta sobre confiscación de almizcle a jesuitas." AGI, Filipinas, 2, N.156.

[44] Ibid. The Emperor spoke since the musk had been sent to the Jesuits by the German ambassador, Count de Lamberg. "Carta de Bolívar y Cruz sobre licencia para comerciar a Pedro de Vargas." AGI, Filipinas, 22, R.7, N.24.

[45] "Expediente sobre confiscación de almizcle a Martín Martínez." AGI, Filipinas, 22, R.10, N.55.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] "Copia de orden de pagar alimizcle al jesuita Martín Martínez." AGI, Filipinas, 296, N.3.

[49] "Petición del jesuita Manuel de Villabona sobre pago de almizcle." 27 February 1672, AGI, Filipinas, 82. N.30.

[50] My translation from original Spanish. García Abásolo, "La vida cotidiana de los vecinos de Manila," 79. "Bienes de difuntos: Pedro de las Alas Marrón," 1603. AGI, Contratación, 266A, N.1, R.3.

[51] My translation from original Spanish. Loyola [1585] 2002: 173.

[52] Sebastían de Covarrubias Orozco. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid, 1611. f.38v.

[53] De las Cortes, *Viaje de la China,* 94–95.

[54] Kawamura, "Manila, ciudad española y centro de fusión," 7–8.

[55] Boxer, *O grande navio de Amacau,* 158. *Pico* is a measure of weight used in East Asia equivalent to just over 60 kilograms or about 100 *cates* (one *cate*, catty in English and *Jin* in Chinese equals 625 grams). *Pico* comes from the Malay form *píkul*, meaning

"a man's burden". My translation from original Spanish. Ollé, *Estrategias Filipinas*, 200, Note no. 233.

[56] Two *picos* of musk are equivalent to 120 kg. Loureiro, "Navios, mercadorias e embalagens," 37. A transcript of all the goods transported by the Jesuits on that journey in Boxer, *O grande navio de Amacau,* 163–168.

[57] Ibid., 159.

[58] Aresta and Viega de Oliveira, *O Senado*, 97.

[59] Olivan Santaliestra, "Del almizcle al agua de Colonia."

[60] *Dissertacion Historica Phisico-chimica, y analysis del cacao, su usso, y dosis, que para beneficio común da al publico Don Manuel Navas de Carrera, Maestro Boticario en el Reyno de Aragon, y Regente de la Botica del Real, Militar, y General Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia de la Ciudad de Zaragoza*. Zaragoza, Impreso por Francisco Moreno, 1751, 42. A question to ask, but one that remains outside of the objectives of this article, is what other use musk was used for at this time?

[61] Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 531.

[62] Boxer, *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo,* 33–34.

[63] Father Manuel Queirós Pereira owned the boat with Francisco Xavier Doutel, who was the owner of several boats. Born in Bragança, he arrived in Macau in 1698, and married Francisca Pereira (sister of the said Jesuit and of the merchant Francisco Leite Pereira, who captained the boat). Videira Pires, *A vida marítima de Macau*, 127 and 142.

[64] Teixeira, *Macau no séc. XVIII*, 121.

[65] Videira Pires, *A viagem do comércio Macau-Manila*, 44–45.

[66] "Carta que o Senn.º mandou em Siao ao M. R.do P.e Antonio Soares Rellig.º da Comp.a de Jesus." 28 January 1721, in *Arquivo de Macau* 1, no. 3. August 1929, 155–156.

[67] "Problemas de los barcos para salir hacia Filipinas," México, 24 April 1716, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Diversos-Colecciones, 43, N.21.

[68] The carracks were the *Santa Catarina* of 1603 and *Santo António* of 1605. Borschberg, "The European Musk Trade," 6.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.,7.

[71] Oka, "A Memorandum by Tçuzu Rodrigues," 96.

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